1:Gutierrez de Pineda--205 E-3 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

/167 cont./

592 has some authority over them because, if during his absence some carelessness on /168/ the part of the mother causes the death of one of them, he can collect a compensation payment from his wife's maternal relatives. But at the present time, among mestizos and especially among those who contract Catholic marriages, the father's authority is immediately felt in accordance with the custom of our culture. He represents the home and the children before the other individuals of the social totality as was previously done by the uncle.

This authority has reference not only to the home and to the compliance with certain norms of courtesy, such as those of hospitality for example, but also to the decisive events in family life, such as the marriage of a son, the compensation payment for an offense, the purchase of a daughter, etc. His will is consulted, and the wife obeys it, even against the personal insistence of her mother; in other words, the mother loses authority and responsibility with regard to her children, who now use the father's name and with this the new ascribed kin relationship. /169/

XI

THE CLAN

614 On studying clan organization we wish to present it as it apparently must have functioned in the past and to show the changes it has undergone up to the present. To this end, we make use of mythology to clarify happenings in the remote past.

614 A story from Upper La Guajira runs as follows: "Not far
773 from Nazaret there is a hill lying behind Itojoro. There
539 Mareiwa was born under an olive tree. There he was found as a tiny infant, and he kept growing and growing as rapidly as

1:Gutierrez de Pineda--206 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

539
C14
793

/169 cont./
an Indian. He ate <u>tsuma</u> and wore a Guajiro robe. His mother was an old woman. There she had her home. The father was one Saramai who, it is also said, was a god. As Mareiwa was born under an olive tree, the tree never loses its green leaves during any summer. And when there is a storm the Indians make shelter beneath its branches because lightning cannot penetrate there.

"Mareiwa ordered that there should be an Indian girl whom they called Boronka who was the mother of all the Guajiro Indians. Mareiwa gave her a husband by whom she became pregnant, but when the time of her delivery arrived she was not able to give birth. She had already suffered three days of labor pains without birth taking place. The cause was that her genital organ had teeth. Mareiwa extracted them, and later he took from the husband two ribs, the lower ones from each side of his body, to place in Boronka so that she could give birth to children without difficulty, though not without pain.

"Since there is always some loss of blood when there is a childbirth, Mareiwa called together all the little birds: the one called Sangre de Toro /Bull's Blood/ or <u>pincwait</u> he ordered to go and bathe at the spot where the birth had taken place. Also /be called/ the troupial, the <u>ioó</u> with black wings and a red breast and crest, and the macaws. The woodpecker arrived late at the bath. Mareiwa said to him: "You came late but I will anoint your crest," and he painted it. For this reason, all these birds have red patches.

"Boronka had several children, and thus the Guajiro went on multiplying. When they became numerous, Mareiwa returned and distributed among them seeds of watermelon, corn, and melon, all of which the Guajiro eat to this day. Until this /170/ time the Guajiro had not sown seed, but had collected only the wild fruits of the forest. Mareiwa brought together all the troupials and woodcocks /<u>zancalargas</u>/. A flock of these he sent far away, very far away, and there they

L.Guerrero de Pineda--207 E-1 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

/170 cont./

• 539 617 773 are prickly pear and iguayan. He also called a flock of pigeons of the woods that brought cherries from Hepechi. Then Mareiwa dispersed these little birds all over La Guajira, who with their excrements showered seeds, which germinated in the earth, covering it with plants which bore fruit and served as food for the Indians.

"To each male Indian Mareiwa gave a pair of animals: goats, burros, cows, horses, and pigs. Then he brought them all together with their animals at a place called Arachi, near Siapana, (to the S. W. of Nazaret), and on a stone he engraved the marks he gave to each group of Indians, sons of Berunka. And even today the marks on that stone can be seen.

"There he formed the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Sijuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jimú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Wuriyú, Urenanaka, Marpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Juayú, Woruberuyú, etc. Mareiwa gave them these marks so that the livestock of one would not be confused with those of another.

"Each group has an animal which distinguishes it from the others. These animals (the present-day totems) according to the creation myth were to have become Indians, but they ate the livestock that Mareiwa had distributed to each group and he, then, to punish them left them in their primitive condition as a symbol of the group they had offended. Thus, the royal turkey buzzard for example ate a cow /res/ belonging to the Epiayú so for this reason it became the symbol of that group. The caricari ate an Ipuana animal and so remained with them. The Uriana have the jaguar /as totem/ because it did the same. The Sapuana group have the bittern; the Jayariyú, the dog; the Apshana, the buzzard; the Sijuana, the wasp; the Urariyú, the rattlesnake; the Jimú, the fox; the Soriyú have the catanejo; the Pausayú, the bee; the Uyarayú, the stag /Venado Cauquero/, etc."

Another story relates: "... as there was nothing on the Earth, Mareiwa said: 'What shall I do so that there may be something and so that I may then return to Heaven?'

/170 cont./

●539
614
773

"He then said to the birds, who were Indians at that time, 'Make your homes and your enramadas /bough-covered shelters/ as I am going to Heaven and I will return.' He went away then, and a few days later he was back again from Heaven. Heaven was then like the Earth today with similar trees and fruits. The birds, who were Indians, did not carry out the order of Mareiwa as they neither built houses nor enramadas. When he returned, Mareiwa found out that what they had built were nests in the trees. /171/ Mareiwa told them angrily: 'Turn into birds and be Indians no longer since you did not obey, and from this originated the different kinds of birds.

"After cursing the birds, Mareiwa took up a quantity of clay and began to make dolls like those that are made now at Jarara and various other kind. He sent for the cucarachero /in Colombia and Venezuela, a songbird which eats cockroaches. -- Ed./ to sing to the dolls while he was making them. The bird did so and in its song mentioned the color and kind of clay of which they were made. He later called for the woodpecker and said to him: 'Go and look for my grandfather,' and when he had come he ordered the bird: 'Name the clan of each one of these dolls.' He said: 'This is Apshana; this Epiayú: this Uriana, etc., etc., etc.' In payment for having named the clans so well, Mareiwa gave him a white necklace which he still wears. Finally, the bird said: 'The Ipuanas and Sapuanas will be allies in matters of putchi (war); the Epiayú with the Apshana.' 'Very good,' said Mareiwa.

"All the groups having been named, the clay dolls were converted into real men and women. Mareiwa then distributed the women and sites so that there should be no fighting afterward. Thus he said: 'You will live with your wife there; you here, etc.' Nowadays the men look for and take more women, but in those days Mareiwa gave each only one. These are latter-day customs. He put the Ipuana in Jarara, the Epinayú in Lower La Guajira, the Urariyú in the region of Nazaret, the Epiayú in the region of Puerto Estrella, and so on with all the rest who were distributed

/171 cont./

539 614 773 throughout La Guajira. Mareiwa spoke with them for the last time to bid them farewell. Thus he spoke to them: 'That is what I wanted, that you should live here. I am going away now, but will continue to watch over you from Heaven.'"

• • •

614 To better understand their mythology, it is essential to know the organization of La Guajira. Let us see this in brief.

The whole peninsula is divided among diverse groups having special characteristics, which have received in popular language the name of castas /"race," "breed"/. These castas are really clan groups whose most outstanding traits are the following:

1. Each one, as we were able to see in the preceding stories, has a totemic animal which serves to group together all the individuals belonging to the same clan. With respect to the totem animals we find the following:

Clan	Representative animal
Epiayú	Royal turkey buzzard /172/
Ipuana	Caricari
Uriana	Jaguar

Alfred Jhan[1] adds for this same clan group the following

1. Alfred Jhan: Los aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela /The Natives of Western Venezuela/, p. 144.

totemic animals:

Uriana	Jaguar (Zone of Taroa and Bahía Honda)
"	Rabbit (Cruce coast of Maracaibo) /Las Cruces.--Ed./

[1] [25, should read Jahn. - Archivist]

[36 cont.]

*756 828 attacks which are considered as an apparent death, a separation of the soul from the body of the shaman in order that he may obtain a better communication with the spirit. These attacks take place frequently in the ordinary life of the shaman and appear especially when he is interrupted in his state of ecstasy or of illumination, in his moments of spiritual conversation, and suggest, in a certain way, an elation, a way of escaping from the [37] earthly life to inhabit for a few moments the world of the dead, which is his real world to which he belongs through the express decision of his protector spirits.

773 539 The shaman in oral literature: Our colleague Licentiate Chaves collected in La Guajira a series of stories which were published in the Boletín de Arqueología, one of which refers to the shaman Umaralá. This story tells us that in "former times there were bad shamans who collected much and did not cure." (33) The one who changed this situation was Umaralá, making

33. Chaves. Op. cit., 321.

use of certain secrets for cures, accompanied by chants and shaking of the maraca. He was initiated into the magic arts by his aunt, who was a good shaman. His initiation coincided precisely with a relapse from an illness which he had contracted during a period of pestilence in La Guajira. The symptoms described in the story are the following: "He lost his power of speech, suffered continuous attacks, lost consciousness." His aunt dedicated herself to his care, and he "heard the arguments that his aunt sustained in her chants with the spirit of the dead, who was none other than Jirairai, who however criticized all the old shaman's chants. He clearly heard the spirit say: "Either you die or your son dies." (34) The shaman invoked the help

34. Chaves. Op. cit., 321-322.

of a new spirit, but in the end she died in order to save her nephew.

The latter, together with his bond servant, buried his aunt and complied with all the ceremonies pertaining to the dead,

[37 cont.]

793 until one night when he was weeping for his dead aunt, she ap-
539 peared to him and said: "Go, my son, to the region of Jarara,
● take my cape and my maraca, visit the sick, and "shamanize" them, and only thus will you find the true path. But first you must change your name ... to that of Umaralá." (We see here another sign of apparent death, the change of name.) "The vision disappeared, and Umaralá felt obliged to obey what he had heard. He visited the sick, "shamanized" them, and drove away their sicknesses, and his fame as a great doctor ran throughout all La Guajira." (35)

35. Chaves. Op. cit., 322.

The story goes on to tell the amazing cures accomplished by Umaralá and in general the story of his life as a shaman until the moment of his death.

*756 What interests us in this story is simply the proof in the
538 oral legendary literature of La Guajira of what we have been expounding throughout this chapter, that is, the symptomatology of the vocation of shaman represented by special sicknesses — usually of a hysterical [illegible] type — in which are involved the loss of speech and consciousness; delirium, possibly feverish, accompanied by visions and attacks; the initiation by an old shaman familiar with the tasks of curing; the presence of a protector spirit who has complete mastery over the pupil and dominates his will completely; the presence likewise of the magic objects of the shaman; the maraca and certain items of dress, etc.; the total lack of free will on the part of the individual about becoming a shaman, a profession which makes him strictly subject to the wishes of the spirits whom he must obey blindly. We have only to remember the words of his aunt to Umaralá and especially the words of the story, "Umaralá felt obliged to obey what he had heard ..."; the fact that the protector spirit is generally that of a dead shaman who continues to exercise his functions, his true functions of curing, through an intermediary: the living shaman. In other words, the shaman is really converted into a benefactor, or better still into a true

[46 cont.]
411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
935 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
975 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on
the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society
follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not
really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his
sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so
weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects
of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
● 539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
789 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this
present study is based and which refers to the struggle between
a Guajiro Indian named Kurúra-páta and some Kusina Indians
who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The
section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from
the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a
rifle) at Kurúra-páta, who came upon them from behind. They
wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do any-
thing,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,'
said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee.
He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina
said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously
stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us —
was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other
weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we
have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently
used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter
from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed
in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no
longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[1947 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
1978] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

[123 cont.]

b) Of the songs which are sung in this ceremony of propitiation of rain, there are some of a simple, humorous character making fun of neighboring native groups, pointing out their defects, such as we transcribe below: [124]

I do not love the men of Ríohacha
Because they like to smoke tobacco;
I do not like the men of Nazaret,
Because they have a very sweet tooth.

But there are others of a typical erotic flavor, sung by the men, which are nothing more than an invitation to love, the story of their manliness, of their value as males. We translate literally a fragment which we heard in Uribía:

Come to me, my sister.
Come to me, my woman.
I am a male.

Do not look at him
—At that youngster —
Walk straight and correctly.
Walk straight and correctly.
Walk straight and correctly.

I am here.
I am the male.
I bring with me my rifle
And my revolver.
I am a male.
You were very charming, my love.

Oh, that I may take an Indian girl!
I will pay for her
Because I am rich.

Many songs such as this are sung at the Dance of the Kid, but we were unable to take down the words because, as we have said, songs do not exist as such. They are not stereotyped and established with definite words and unchangeable form but are improvised, making use of every recourse, especially stories of past incidents, to which they adapt a well-known tune.

[124 cont.]

585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic acculturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom, furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family necklace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface during his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

524 796 831 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura...," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

526 796 [132 cont.]
men and animals, or men alone, as in the description of a putchi, or interclan war. This demonstration of skill and ability
535 796 in their plays is shown very clearly in the chicha-maya dance, which will be fully detailed in the descriptive aspect of Guajiro culture shortly to be published. This dance, in general terms, is restricted to a veritable struggle between the man and the woman who are partners, a struggle in which the woman endeavors to overthrow the man.

536 796 However, in the plays of a mythical nature the scene is more limited and always ends in the same way. It is static in the sense that its conclusion cannot be changed by the ability of the players but is determined by a prearranged plot, rigidly imposed for each occasion it is played. This we believe is what gives it its true mythical nature. It is part of the oral tradition of the group, and for this reason it cannot be subject to variations determined by the moment.

Having made these general statements about their theatrical plays, or dramas, we will now describe them one by one, showing first those that refer to social life, then those relative to the mythical aspect, and finally those in which animals only, or animals with men, appear.

1. Visit between Upper and Lower La Guajira. Two groups take part in this play, each composed of men and women. The first represents Upper La Guajira, the other, Lower La Guajira. The groups line up in two parallel rows [133] spaced a cuadra apart. The components of each group hold each other round the waist, face to face, with a small space between them. The
536 ● 539 796 singer who heads the team of Indians that represents Upper La Guajira begins by addressing the visitors from Lower Guajira, "Ansh pią (Have you arrived?)." "Aaa (Yes)," replies the other. "Kasąchicki (What's new?)," asks the first singer. "Nohots (Nothing new)," replies his opposite number from the south country. Again he of the north asks, "How goes the winter? Have the expected rains finally arrived?" The other answers, "we are well content. The rains have come so our crops are in good condition. We have collected food in plenty, and there is still a quantity left to collect. The pastures, like the trees, are green again; our herds have water to satisfy their thirst in the wells and water

[133 cont.]

536 holes. They are fat and have increased. We are neither short of
539 meat nor milk nor fruit...." He from the north then speaks,
796 saying, "I, my friend, am full of woe. I suffer from anxiety, fearing hunger this coming winter. My herds died of thirst beside the dry wells. I have no other food than the fruit of the cardon and the prickly pear. I have to travel long and painful distances so that my hungry herds can find pasture and water. The summer is cruel. The sun burnt the seedlings and the grass." He of the south again intervenes, this time to invite his friend in these or similar words, "Seeing things are thus with you, my brother, why not come with us to our country, to Lower La Guajira. There you will find green pastures and overflowing water holes for your herds. Come with your wife and nephews [and nieces, sobrinos] because there will be food for you all. There the winter is good; we shall expect you."

Finally the one from Upper La Guajira says "Yes, I will go with you. I will leave here with my starving herds and with my people who are in dire need and poverty...." After this the two groups unite, embrace each other at the waist, and walk off together in the direction of Lower La Guajira. So ends the play.

2. Interclan war. As in the previous case, two teams are formed headed by their singing leaders, but this time women do not take part directly. The play starts when a player of one of the teams walks up to the other and pretends to kill one of its members. The latter acts as if he were wounded, twists and squirms on the ground, then dies. The assailant leaves him lying there and flees to his own group and hides himself. The singer then starts up his song, stating that the cause of the killing was jealousy because the victim was attempting to make love to the killer's wife, or he was the lucky rival in winning a girl they were both courting. The other team sees the death of their member and hastens [134] to pick him up. They make grand gestures of fury and demand vengeance, and the singer of this group expresses the rage of his clan; he threatens the opposite group whom he accuses in insulting language and ends by declaring his bitter enmity. Shortly afterward comes the scene of the compensation payment negotiations in which the arbitrator of the murdered man's clan visits the aggressor group to demand payment for the

[134 cont.]

536 offense received, asking for a very large sum, stating how pas-
539 sionately angry his clan is and warning them that if the sum de-
796 manded is not met war will be the inevitable consequence. The singer continues: "Pay for my nephew because you have spilled his blood and by that you have caused us great sorrow. I ask in a kindly manner that you do so unless you want to bring upon yourselves our hatred, if you do not want us to kill your nephews and despoil your people of their herds, to fill up your wells and burn down the homes of your relatives. If our just claim is not met we will carry off your women, your children and nephews and nieces as slaves. Pay!"

The aggressor band collects a number of children — who are to represent cattle — necklaces, etc., and hand these over to the contendors. But their singer states that it is too little, that his clan demands more. He orders the other clan to take back their offering and states that as they have not complied with the stipulations of their agreement that they must prepare to pay their debt with their own blood. War is declared. Each band concentrates on arming itself; they collect young cardons which they split in strips to serve as weapons.

The singer of the murdered man's clan again sings: "Get ready, my sons and nephews. We are about to attack our enemies, to collect for the blood of our brother as they have not paid us what they owe. But do not thoughtlessly expose yourselves. Be careful. Attack, but keep well protected behind trees and cardons. Take careful aim. Do not let yourselves be beaten, or we in future will be called cowards and will not be respected. No one then will pay us for our women, and we shall be despised by all. In all La Guajira they will know the story of our defeat, which will be converted into mockery and contempt."

The leader of the group to which the killer belongs sings: "My nephews, be prepared. Very soon these people will arrive to attack us, so be ready for war. Do not be neglectful even for one minute because they will arrive suddenly with the intention of burning our homes, of stealing our herds, destroying our sources of water, and taking our women and children for slaves. Fight and aim well. We shall destroy them."

[134 cont.]

536 539 796 After the leaders of each group have sung these harangues, which are characteristic of those delivered by the chiefs in war, the attack comes. Those who engage in the combat pretend to leave at dawn (all this the leader refers to in his song) in order to fall suddenly on their enemies. With the piles of cardons they shoot at each other. The defenders run away, leaving the field covered [135] with the dead. In the combat they will incite each other. On throwing the cardon they imitate the noise of the explosion and the whistle of the bullets when fired. Each one seeks shelter where he can find it and dodges blows. Those that are touched by thrown missiles fall, screaming that they are wounded, and pretend to die. The chiefs harangue their men: "Shoot well my nephews or else they will think we are cowards."

536 796 When all the projectiles are used up, each band gathers its bodies. The one with the most casualities has lost the battle. At this moment the women come on the scene to mourn the dead of their clan. They cover their faces with pañuelos and, kneeling over a corpse, they cry pitifully. Then they go to bury their dead, and so ends the representation of the putchi.

3. The devil and the Indians. In this dramatization a male Indian covers himself with a black robe, imitating the devil, or yorujá. The devil appears walking in the fields, and an Indian steps out to meet him. The devil with great expertness grips him by the nostrils with his thumb and first finger and throws him to the ground. The Indian is killed. This scene in which the devil always participates but each time with different Indians is repeated three times with the same result, until in the end all the Indians who act in the play unite against the devil and kill him. The devil disappears, but after a short interval he returns to the scene. A new struggle starts up, but this time the devil wins because he kills all the Indians, men and women, who take part in the fight. Later he withdraws and takes off the robe, thus ending the play.

4. The devil and the cloud. The Indians take off their robes and make a kind of tent with them into which they all go. This tent is meant to represent smoke or a cloud. Inside, the Indians

[135 cont.]

536 796 pretend to be eating and playing tranquilly. The devil, another Indian, taking advantage of the carelessness of the men who are occupied with their fun, and covered as always with his black robe, enters the cloud to do them evil. Immediately a fight starts up between the Indians and the devil. In the end the cloud traps the devil and emerges triumphant in the play.

5. The horse race. Horse racing is the sport or trial of 541 536 796 prowess most practiced in the ordinary life of the Guajiro. In this sport they try to bring to the fore the name of the horse and the skill of the jockey. In all the large fiestas a number of horse [538] races are always staged, and such is their enthusiasm for them that they are frequently mentioned in some stories told by the natives. [136]

536 ●539 796 During the Fiesta of the Kid two groups are formed which, as in the previous cases, are under the direction of their respective leaders. Each group has assigned to it an equal number of men, representing so many race horses. The race course having been previously marked out with its starting point and finishing post, one of the singers begins by referring to the goodness of his horse, praising its speediness. The other replies in an identical tone, using eulogistic concepts regarding his animal. They soon arrange a match which they put into practice. One of them says: "There goes my roan horse; he is swifter than the clouds and the wind and braver than any other in La Guajira." The other sings: "This is my chestnut horse. I am sure that he will win because he is swifter than the deer." They start off their horses and run the race. Following them, race another pair, then another, until all the competitors have taken part.

825 241 536 796 The bees and the fruit thieves. There is a kind of small bee in the peninsula which the Indians call wáya. These bees make their nests in trees or in hollow tree trunks. If a blow is struck near the hive, the bees swarm out, attacking and getting into the hair of anybody standing nearby. They get inside the intruders' clothes and swarm all over them, crawling over their bodies, buzzing angrily, bothering their enemies until they are in a state of desperation. The Indians have a habit of collecting 536 796 hives of these bees and placing them at the entrance to their fields, making use of the bees to defend their harvest from thieves.

536 [140 cont.]
796 moving along the ground. Headed by their leader they all continue to sing the song of the serpent, saying more or less the following: "I am the snake. I drag myself along the ground.
[539] I do harm to no one. But he who dares to step on me because I am on the ground gets his punishment. I bite him and wound him. At times I kill him. He has to stay in bed and suffer for a long time as a punishment for having trodden on me and for thinking that I am helpless because I drag myself along the ground...." This song is repeated several times. [141]

IX

Mareiwa and Wanurú

or

Notions of Good and Evil

771 Through all the preceding chapters we have tried to explain clearly what constitutes the magic life of the Guajiro, which is almost the same as saying his spiritual life, and in passing we have mentioned the presence and activities of beings with higher powers than ordinary mortals, able to do good or evil according to which being intervenes in each particular case. We have thus touched on two fundamental ideas: good and evil.

776 Our interest is now concentrated in trying to elucidate the
177 quality of these spirits, or supernatural beings. These can be very seriously confused owing particularly to the influence of acculturation and more specifically to the pressure exerted by missionaries in their prosletyzing function. So great is the misapplication of terms and concepts in this world of ideas that we might call the religious, that even the Guajiro mythology has been transformed by the use of terms which have a pejorative and
773 degrading effect on the Guajiro people (68).

177
186 68. This statement is based on the legend which we obtained orally from

[141 cont.]

an Indian of the Nazaret locality relating to Mareiwa and the origin of humanity, in which are presented the beginnings of the different groups of mankind: natives and foreigners. The legend states that Mareiwa created mankind and gathered them together, inviting them to a banquet. Those who complied with the forms of social etiquette (shaking hands respectfully, sitting in the right place, behaving with composure, eating according to civilized rules, using knives and forks, washing hands, etc., were turned into arĵuna ("white," civilizado); those who misbehaved, who did not comply with these rituals of social etiquette, that is, those who showed they were Indians, were from that time classed as wayũ ("Indians"). As can be seen, the Indian believes himself superior [sic] to the White because of these details of social etiquette, of which he is partially or totally ignorant. [142]

The problem arises from the fact that those two notions of good and evil, represented by two classes of spirits, benign and malignant, have been changed for the Catholic or general Christian concepts of God and devil, concepts which the native, coming more and more in contact with the Christian type of civilization has gradually come to accept in the process of his conversion to new ideas.

This affirmation is corroborated by various citations, taken from the writings of Catholic or Protestant missionaries as well as from those of travelers or of ethnologists who have been involved in the same confusion. To demonstrate the point we transcribe several such cases.

Father de Carcagente referring to the church at Manaure [539] says: "The Indians say to God 'Have pity upon us.' They know

[142 cont.]
what God can do for them," phrases which the Guajiro translates in this way: "Nuchúntaca guayú numuín Maléigua 'Pumúliaja guayú.' Je natújain au tu náinjecta nau Maléigua." (69)

69. Carcagente. Guía Goajiro [Guajiro Guide], pp. 18-19. The italics are ours.

The Protestant missionaries, on their part, published in Guajiro and in Spanish a version of the Gospel of Saint Mark throughout which the word "God" is represented in Guajiro by the word "Mareiwa" (70).

70. Máruko: Cf. Bibliography.

Father José Agustín de Barranquilla, a Capuchin missionary who traveled widely through the greater part of Guajiro territory on an evangelistic mission and collected his impressions in a book, when speaking of the qualities and moral defects of the Guajiro, uses the following terms: "He is monotheist, that is, he believes in only one Supreme Being called Mareigua (God) ... he has something similar to the devil which he calls Yarujá or Yolujá..." (71)

71. Barranquilla. Así es la Guajira [This is La Guajira], II, 57.

And further along he adds: "The Guajiro is not like other Indians, idolatrous, because vestiges have never been found among all the Guajiro antiquities either of idols that they worshiped in times past or traditions that show at any time their connection with idolatry, except for certain insignificant talismans of a domestic and family nature which they considered could render them service. They never practiced any cult rendering homage to the sun, moon, or any other visible thing. The Guajiro attributes everything good that occurs in this world to Merigua (God). Mareigua is always good, never evil. He it was that created the world and all visible things. He alone. He is invisible